RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 USBERL 02179 01 OF 03 181606Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-00	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-10
	PA-01	OMB-01	INRE-00	USSS-00	USIE-00	SP-02	SNP-01
	C-01	PRS-01	DS-01	DSE-00	SCT-02	P-02	T-01
	/047 W						

----------234725 201653Z /33

R 181519Z JUN 87
FM USMISSION USBERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0527
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 03 USBERLIN 02179

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, SOCI, OVIP (REAGAN, RONALD), BZ, US
SUBJECT: THE REAGAN VISIT AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF A BERLIN DEMONSTRATION

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISIT TO BERLIN JUNE 12 PROVIDED THE CATALYST FOR A LIVELY ROUND OF DISCUSSION AND SOUL-SEARCHING IN ACTIVIST BERLIN CIRCLES, WHICH COULD HAVE CONSEQUENCES IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS TO COME. THE DISCUSSION WAS SPARKED AFTER A LEFTIST COMMENTATOR CALLED PLANNED ANTI-REAGAN DEMONSTRATIONS "PAVLOVIAN REFLEXES" WITH NO POLITICAL GROUNDING. DEBATE CENTERED ON TWO QUESTIONS. FIRST, WAS THERE

REALLY A REASON TO DEMONSTRATE AGAINST RONALD REAGAN? SECOND, SHOULD THE ALTERNATIVE-MODERATE NONVIOLENT LEFT CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE ALONGSIDE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC AND VIOLENT GROUPS (CHAOTEN) WHO INEVITABLY COME OUT IN

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: PAUL W HILBURN
DATE/CASE ID: 21 FEB 2007 200700658

FORCE FOR SUCH OCCASIONS? THE CHAOTEN'S THIRST FOR
-
VIOLENCE, WHICH HAD BEEN HEIGHTENED BY THE MAY 1 RIOTS IN KREUZBERG, STOOD IN CONTRAST TO THE RELATIVELY CALM MOOD OF MOST OF BERLIN'S LEFTIST SCENE BEFORE THIS SECOND REAGAN VISIT TO THE CITY. THIS MESSAGE ATTEMPTS TO DESCRIBE THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE PRESIDENT, AND TO ANALYZE THE CONSEQUENCES WHICH MIGHT ENDURE FROM THE DISCUSSIONS AND EMOTIONS STIRRED. END SUMMARY.

REAGAN AS SYMBOL
---

2. IN THE RUN-UP TO THE JUNE 12 REAGAN VISIT TO BERLIN, THE USUAL GROUPS WHO DEMONSTRATE BUSILY ORGANIZED THE EXPECTED DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE PRESIDENT. PREPARATIONS PROCEEDED UNIMPEDED, IF SOMEWHAT LESS ENTHUSIASTIC THAN FOR THE 1982 REAGAN VISIT, UNTIL THE LEFTIST-ALTERNATIVE TAZESZEITUNG'S (TAZ) CITY HALL REPORTER WROTE A COMMENTARY ON JUNE 9 ENTITLED, "REAGAN THE SYMBOL IS COMING." THE REPORTER, MECHTHILD KUEPPERS, CRITICIZED THE "PAVLOVIAN REFLEXES" OF BERLIN ACTIVISTS. SHE WROTE, "NO ONE REALLY KNOWS WHY THEY SHOULD DEMONSTRATE AGAINST REAGAN. HERE COMES A LAME DUCK PRESIDENT, IN THE LAST HALF OF HIS LAST TERM, IRANGATE BEHIND HIM, RETIREMENT IN CALIFORNIA BEFORE HIM. AND NONE OTHER THAN HE HAS SHOWN THE WAR-FEARING
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

GERMANS THAT HE IS MORE CAPABLE OF RESPONDING ABLY TO GORBACHEV'S NEW THINKING THAN THE ELECTED CHANCELLOR OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY."

3. MEMBERS OF THE ALTERNATIVE LISTE (AL), THE BERLIN VERSION OF THE GREENS AND ONE OF THE MAIN ORGANIZERS OF THE ANTI-REAGAN DEMONSTRATION, PROTESTED KUEPPERS ANALYSIS AT TAZ OFFICES THE NEXT DAY. THE TAZ NEVERTHELESS REPEATED ITS ATTACK ON THE AIMLESSNESS OF THE DEMONSTRATORS IN ITS JUNE 11 ISSUE. "IN BERLIN, SYMBOLS COUNT, EVEN WHEN THEIR SUBSTANCE BECOMES INVALID," KUEPPERS WROTE. "THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS SUCH A SYMBOL." A COMMENTARY IN THE SAME ISSUE WAS EVEN HARSHER. THE WRITER, JUERGEN GOTTSCHLICH, CHARGED THAT THE BERLIN LEFT'S IMAGE OF

RONALD REAGAN WAS A WELL-TENDED BUT OUT-OF-TOUCH "FEINDBILD" OR "CONCEPT OF ENEMY". IN GERMAN LEFTIST JARGON, A FEINDBILD IS GENERALLY CONSIGNED TO THE MENTALITY OF CAPITALISTS, IMPERIALISTS AND WAR-MONGERERS.

4. IN THE END, THE DEMONSTRATION ON JUNE 11 WAS, UNTIL THE VIOLENT MINORITY OF CHAOTEN TOOK THE REINS, MORE CHEERFUL THAN MOST BERLIN DEMONSTRATIONS IN RECENT YEARS. THERE WAS MUSIC, AND THERE WERE FLIERS ON EVERY ISSUE FROM NICARAGUA TO PEACE TO THE GERMAN CENSUS TO SOUTH KOREA TO SCHOOL REFORM. THE DEMONSTRATION, AS THE TAZ HAD PREDICTED, HAD LITTLE TO DO WITH RONALD REAGAN. AS MORE THAN ONE SKEPTICAL LEFTIST NOTED, THE IMPRESSIVE ARRAY OF COMPLAINTS DISPLAYED UPON THE VISIT OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT REVEALED A TOUCHING CONFIDENCE IN HIS ABILITY TO AFFECT - AND BY INFERENCE TO HEAL - JUST ABOUT ALL THE PROBLEMS IN THE WORLD.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 USBERL 02179 02 OF 03 181607Z
ACTION EUR-00

INFO	LOG-00	COPY-01	ADS-00	INR-10	SS-00	CIAE-00	DODE-00
	H-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-10
	PA-01	OMB-01	INRE-00	USSS-00	USIE-00	SP-02	SNP-01
	C-01	PRS-01	DS-01	DSE-00	SCT-02	P-02	T-01
	/047 W						

----------234731 201654Z /33

R 181519Z JUN 87
FM USMISSION USBERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0528
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 03 USBERLIN 02179

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, SOCI, OVIP (REAGAN, RONALD), BZ, US
SUBJECT: THE REAGAN VISIT AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF A

STRANGE DEMO-FELLOWS: THE NONVIOLENT LEFT AND CHAOTEN
---

5. MORE SIGNIFICANT LAST WEEK PERHAPS THAN THE DISCUSSION ON THE PROPRIETY OF REAGAN AS A TARGET WAS A PARALLEL DISCUSSION ON THE PROPRIETY OF MARCHING WITH VIOLENCE-PRONE CHAOTEN. THE RAMPAGES WHICH OCCASIONALLY FOLLOW DEMONSTRATIONS IN GERMAN CITIES ARE RARELY CARRIED OUT BY THE MASS OF DEMONSTRATORS; THEY ARE

CARRIED OUT BY GROUPS WHO SPORT BLACK LEATHER AND A THIRST FOR VIOLENCE. SOME, THE "ANONYMEN" WEAR MASKS. MOST CHAOTEN ARE NOT POLITICAL, BUT THEY ATTACH THEMSELVES TO POLITICAL CAUSES AND DEMONSTRATIONS AS VENTS FOR THEIR OUTBREAKS. AS ONE FORMER RADICAL RECENTLY THEORIZED TO A MISSION OFFICER, "IF THESE PEOPLE WERE NEW YORKERS, THEY WOULD PROBABLY BE MUGGERS." BUT THEY ARE GERMAN, AND THEY THRIVE IN A COLLECTIVE AND POLITICIZED ENVIRONMENT.

6. KREUZBERG HAS AN INDIGENOUS COLLECTION OF CHAOTEN, AND FOR MONTHS IT HAS BEEN APPARENT THAT THEY WOULD BE JOINED BY CONSPIRATORS FROM THROUGHOUT GERMANY FOR THE OCCASION OF THIS VISIT. IN DISCUSSIONS WHICH PRECEDED THE REAGAN VISIT, EVEN MANY OF THOSE WHO SUPPORTED ANTI-REAGAN DEMONSTRATIONS BEGAN TO ADMIT UNEASE AT THE IDEA OF DEMONSTRATING WITH VIOLENT GROUPS. THE GENERAL MOOD IN BERLIN LEFTIST CIRCLES IS MARKEDLY MORE RELAXED THAN IT WAS IN 1982, WHEN PRESIDENT REAGAN FIRST VISITED THE CITY. AT THAT TIME, THE SQUATTERS MOVEMENT PROVIDED A RADICALIZED POOL OF DEMONSTRATORS MOBILIZED BY A CONCRETE ISSUE. THE MAIN RADICALS MOBILIZED FOR THIS LATEST REAGAN VISIT WERE CHAOTEN. AND THEY, IN CONSTRAST TO THE MAJORITY, APPROACHED THIS REAGAN VISIT WITH A HEIGHTENED DESIRE FOR VIOLENCE AFTER THE MAY 1 KREUZBERG RIOTS.

7. ON THE EVENING PRECEDING THE VISIT AND THROUGHOUT THE WEEKEND FOLLOWING IT, IT WAS INDEED THE CHAOTEN WHO CONSISTENTLY BECAME VIOLENT AND PROVOKED CLASHES WITH

POLICE.

8. THEY ALSO, IT SEEMS, PROVOKED SOME REFLECTION. A
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

TAZ ARTICLE ON JUNE 11 CRITICALLY EXPLORED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHAOTEN AND THE ALTERNATIVE LISTE. THE ARTICLE CITED DISCUSSIONS WITH AL MEMBERS WHO, STILL CLINGING TO THE "OPEN WOUNDS" OF THE SQUATTERS PAST, REFUSED TO "PLAY SHERIFF" WITH THE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC GROUPS WHO INEVITABLY ATTACH THEMSELVES TO MASS AL ACTIVITIES. BY THE END OF THE REAGAN VISIT WEEKEND, HOWEVER, THERE WERE SIGNS OF SPREADING DISILLUSIONMENT AMONG AL SUPPORTERS.

9. DURING THE MAJOR DEMONSTRATION ON THE EVE OF THE REAGAN VISIT, SECTIONS OF DEMONSTRATORS CHANTED "STOP, STOP" AS THE CHAOTEN BEGAN TO SMASH WINDOWS AND LOOT STORES. ON MONDAY (JUNE 15), THE TAZ PRINTED AN ARTICLE CITING THE "GROWING UNEASE" OF BERLINERS WHO LIVE IN KREUZBERG, EVEN THOSE "WHO REGULARLY GO TO DEMOS AND HAVE OCCASIONALLY THROWN A STONE THEMSELVES." THESE PEOPLE, THE TAZ REPORTED, WERE FED UP WITH THE AGGRESSIVE CHAOTEN WHO HAD NO PURPOSE IN BERLIN BUT TROUBLE. ONE TOLD THE TAZ HE "COULD CARE LESS IF THE 'BULLEN' (POLICE) BEAT THEM ALL UP." A GUEST COMMENTARY, ALSO PRINTED IN THE TAZ ON THE MONDAY AFTER THE VISIT, INSISTED THAT IT WAS TIME FOR THE AL TO RECOGNIZE THAT ITS CONSTITUENCY HAS "NOTHING IN COMMON" WITH GROUPS LIKE THE CHAOTEN OR THE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC, COMMUNIST SEW.

COMMENT

---

10. THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO BERLIN DID NOT PASS WITHOUT DEMONSTRATION. IT DID, HOWEVER, PROMPT THE REVELATION THAT SECTIONS OF THE LEFT HAVE REALIZED HE IS NOT THE WAR-MONGERER THEY BELIEVED (AND IN SOME CASES HOPED) HIM TO BE. HIS VISIT ALSO PROVOKED SPLITS IN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10
PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 USSS-00 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01
C-01 PRS-01 DS-01 DSE-00 SCT-02 P-02 T-01
/047 W

----------234735 201654Z /33

R 181519Z JUN 87
FM USMISSION USBERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0529
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY EMBBERLIN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMCONSUL FRANKFURT
AMCONSUL STUTTGART
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMCONSUL MUNICH

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 03 USBERLIN 02179

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, SOCI, OVIP (REAGAN, RONALD), BZ, US
SUBJECT: THE REAGAN VISIT AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF A

FORMERLY UNQUESTIONED ALLIANCES. IT BROUGHT THE SHOWDOWN BETWEEN VIOLENT AND NONVIOLENT ACTIVISTS, WHICH IS PLAYING ITSELF OUT WITHIN THE GREENS PARTY AND ON OTHER GERMAN POLITICAL ARENAS, TO THE BERLIN DEMO SCENE.

11. THAT THE SCENE REMAINS DIVIDED, EVEN SCHIZOPHRENIC, WAS NOWHERE MORE EVIDENT THAN ON THE PAGES OF THE TAZ. ON THE DAYS LEADING UP TO THE REAGAN VISIT (AND DEMO),
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

THE TAZ CARRIED THE NUMEROUS SELF-CRITICAL ANTI-DEMO ARTICLES WHICH WERE CITED HERE. AT THE SAME TIME, THE TAZ CARRIED COLUMNS OF "DEMO ADVICE" AND ADVERTISEMENTS BY WEST GERMAN CHAOTEN LOOKING FOR A PLACE TO STAY IN KREUZBERG.

12. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE EVENT, THE LEFT'S ATTENTION HAS SHIFTED TO OTHER ISSUES. THE DISCUSSION SPURRED BY THE REAGAN VISIT HAS PROBABLY, FOR THE MOMENT, RUN ITS COURSE. ITS LONG-RUN IMPACT, HOWEVER, COULD BE CONSIDERABLE. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WILL RESURFACE AS FUTURE DEMONSTRATIONS ARE PLANNED, LEADING TO NEW CAUTION ON THE PART OF NONVIOLENT DEMONSTRATORS. NEW ATTITUDES COULD AID THE WORK OF LAW-ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS, FOR WHOM THE CHAOTEN WILL REMAIN A CHALLENGE IN BERLIN AND OTHER GERMAN CITIES.
KORNBLUM

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNNN